227 upwards in such a fashion that their tips just protrude above the water.

It goes without saying that such weirs can be built only when the water level is lowest. As soon as the water in the river rises, it carries many fish with it and /113/ drives those which are not caught in the baskets of the lateral weirs onto the screens where they often remain in large numbers and are simply picked up by the Negroes. They are reached by a special bridge built out from the bank or by climbing along the edge of the lateral weir.

227 423 This kind of fish weir occurs everywhere except in the north. Usually the chief induces a number of people to construct such a weir; these people then have the sole right of ownership to the fish weir and the fish. They do give their relatives and acquaintances, probably for nothing, a part of their catch, either from a sense of solidarity or because they expect that in similar circumstances they will be provided for in the same way. On the other hand they [425] demand payment from strangers, the amount depending on the size

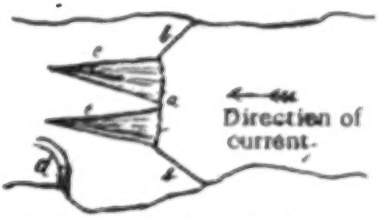

Fig. 60. Diagram of a Fish Weir in the Abea: (a) main weir, (b) lateral weirs, (c) screens of the main weir, (d) a tree growing on the bank and bent over the water.

of the fish, one or two spears (seven or 14 pfennigs) apiece. The major part of the catch is consumed immediately; the rest is dried. Since fish spoil quickly in the tropics, only a very few leave [251 435] the place where they are caught; another reason for this is that the uncertain conditions in the Fang area prevent regular trade (1).

1. There are no markets at all.

227 285 In addition to the contrivance just described, consisting of main and lateral weirs, one also encounters lateral weirs used by themselves

227 285 as independent "basket weirs." They provide a less abundant catch, but on the other hand they are not restricted to a certain water level and for that reason give a regular supply. Three different kinds of basket are used in this kind of weir:

8. nkŏ́é I = ordinary baskets,

9. ayắ′ = short fish baskets (Fig. 61),

10. nsŏ́ń I = long fish baskets (Fig. 62),

and usually two such kinds are used together.

227 226 In smaller rivers or streams, such as the Miemie, a tributary of the Kje, nsŏ́ń and ayắ′ are laid, and in large rivers, a larger form of the ayắ′ and nkŏ́é. These two types of baskets are always used in one weir since experience has shown that one species of fish is more readily caught in one type of basket, while another species is more readily caught in the other. Only rarely is just one type of basket, such as the nsŏ́ń, used exclusively. These long baskets, nsŏ́ń, which may have a diameter up to 30 centimeters, are used with special frequency among the Jaunde, but also occur in the south. Usually from three to four baskets are placed in one weir, say, two ayắ′ and two nsŏ́ń (Fig. 63). At the same time it should be noted that the long baskets, nsŏ́ń, lie with the opening towards the source, while the ayắ′ (like the nkŏ́é) are placed with the opening facing the river mouth, so the fish that are swimming upstream will also be caught. The weir that consists of ayắ′ and nsŏ́ń is designed for the following /114/ /Figs. 61 and 62 appear here in the original text/ creatures: spiny-finned sheatfish (collective name, kɔ̃̂mĕ̂ĭ̂m IV) (1); Clarias walkeri (ngɔ̃́′); Synodontis

1. kɔ̃̂(s)-a-maĭ̂m, that is, fish with spines on its back.

tessmanni Papph. (ngɔ̃́ń, nwɔ̃́ŋ I); furthermore, Marcusenius sphekodes (Saus.) (ntɔ̃́ŋ́m); Gnathonemus moorii (Gthr.) (anɛ̃́n); crawfish; common crabs; Palaemon shrimps (nwɔ̃́s); etc. Finally, Clariallabes longicaudatus Papph. (ndɔ̃́na I) are also caught in it.

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Fig. 61. Short Fish Basket.

Fig. 62. Long fish Basket Weirs.

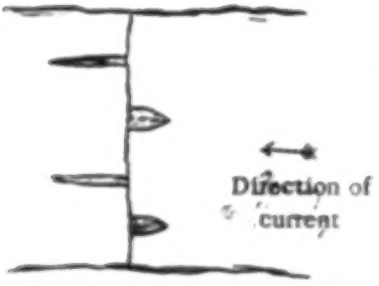

Fig. 63. Diagram of a Basket Weir.

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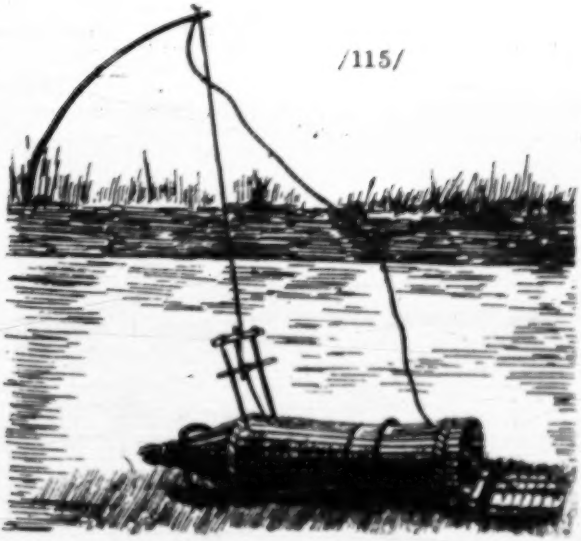

Fig. 64. Basket Trap for Fish.

Fig. 65. Catch Basket for Fish.

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1. Drive of lower animals into baskets;
2. Drive of big game into nets.

In the drive for lower game living in caves, especially porcupines (ngŭm), elongated baskets (nkŏ,e'-ngŭm) made of the stalks of the Sarcophrynium velutinum K. Sch. (okiaikuí) are used (Fig. 86, Drawing 1). The baskets are placed at the various exits of the cave; at one of them the hunter stations himself and either sends a dog into the passage or beats the ground with a stick. The frightened animal flees to one of the remaining exits and lands in the basket where it gets stuck and, because of its quills, is unable to retreat rapidly. A man then rushes to the spot and kills the animal with his spear.

285 824

A second kind of basket, but correspondingly narrower (Fig. 86, Drawing 2), is placed outside ratholes. The animals are chased into the basket in a regular drive in which the entire youth of the village takes part, and there they are killed. These baskets are called nsăn.

These rat drives, carried out with a great hullabaloo, are for the young what the drive of wild animals (nŭ́m I, abim) is for the adults. Game nets, frequently 16 meters long, are attached to one another and set up at suitable places in the bush to form what are often very extensive snares. The beaters chase the animals into these nets with the help of dogs that carry wooden bells (nkŏle-mvŭ I, mvŭ,no IV, angŭ,n e mvŭ, edŭ,n e mvŭ, ongŏ,lă'-mvŭ, ekbwĕle), Figure 87, around their necks. The animals get tangled up in the meshes and are shot by the hunters stationed there. It should be added that this drive is a great undertaking and a general popular festivity, the details of which, however, I must forbear to describe. I shall only observe that in this manner a considerable number of antelopes and other game are caught, and the Pangwe deserve commendation for carrying out this undertaking with splendid success, since it is indeed not an easy job in the rough and impassable forest region. Even the driving of elephants into large

[534]

[441]

Fig. 85. Elephant Spear (fired from a rifle).

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Fig. 86. Basket Traps.

224 fenced-in areas is not unknown to the Fang and is supposed to have been practiced more frequently in former times when the region was more abundant in these pachyderms.

The distribution of meat from the animals caught on the drives is regulated. If a huntsman, for instance, kills a wild animal in such a way that it dies on the spot, /138/ /Fig. 86 appears here in the original text/ he must give the meat of one forefoot to the first of his companions who appears on the scene. On the other hand, if the animal runs on, the first comer can lay claim to the entire forefoot, the second to the shoulder pieces (abá') (1) of one

1. From the stem bă, "to divide"; these pieces are usually divided first because the animal falls down to the ground (which, after all, is also common property) with its shoulders first.

side, the third to the outside of the shank (ebŭ'n). Finally, the one who carries off the animal can claim the neck bones with some flesh (ebŏŏ) (2).

[482]

2. For he also carries the animal around his neck (placed over his shoulders); abŏ(g)e, bŏŏ = to carry.

224 672 682 In view of the excitable and stormy character of the Pangwe, it is no wonder that many of them on such a hunting expedition, where the coveted, delectable tit (tit, "flesh" and "game") jumps

258 Cyrtosperma senegalense (Schott) Engl., Araceae (ebăngabănga).
824 Furthermore, the fronds of the raffia palm are used to a lesser extent. In the Fang region Halopegia and Cyrtosperma are always used together, never one exclusively; in other areas, for instance in the Ntum region, the following swamp plants are also used: the Loganiacea Anthocleista zenkeri Gilg (ajĭnebe-nzăm III); the Zingiberacea Renealmia alborosea K. Sch. (adzŏmmekūm); the Urticacea Boehmeria platyphylla D. Don. (să[s]-dzăm); the Acanthacea Brillantaisia vogeliana Bth. (ebŭgebŭn); the Aracea Anubias heterophylla Engl. (andăk); a Compositа (elŏ[k]-osŭe); the Commelinaceae Palisota schweinfurthii C.B. Cl. (epfŭpfŭ-zăm) and Pollia condensata C.B.Cl. (ajăn-osŭe); and in addition, where swamp plants are absent, the Marantacea Phrynium confertum (Benth.) K. Sch. (nkŏn afán I) and the climbing Aracea Rhektophyllum mirabile N.E. Brown (ndĕ's). /148/

258 462 To get salt the men go into the swamp (zăm), cut down the salt-producing plants, and let them lie in the sun for a month to dry. Then they are brought under a shelter erected in the vicinity; the leaves and leafstalks are burned in an open fire. The plant ashes, dirtied with the remains of the logs, are carried into the village and kept on the loft above the fireplace in the house for three weeks to dry. The men's last job here is the making of a large
285 funnel which they crudely plait (ngăn nkŭ IV) from the stalks of the Marantacea Trachyphrynium violaceum Radlk. (nkŏmokŏmo I). All further work is done by the women. The latter set up the funnel, which they prop up with poles inside or outside the house, and line it with leaves of Sarcophrynium in such a way that the lowest leaf -- folded together in the form of a funnel -- fits just into the tip and the other leaves cover the funnel wall like roof tiles. The funnel is
824 closed off below by a filter consisting of a ball of grass, Paspalum (obŭŏ), or leaves of the Phytolacca dodecandra C. Her. (atŏt) (1);

1. From the stem tŏ, "run through, drip through," because the brine has to drip through the herbs.

then the ashes are put inside the filter, water is poured on them, and

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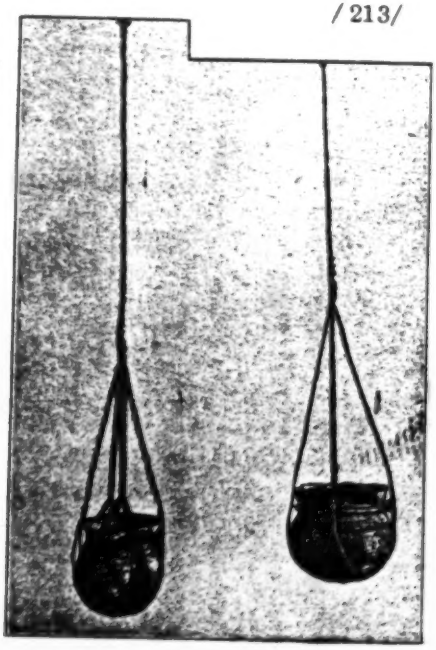

Fig. 164. Mwele Device for Hanging Cooking Pots.

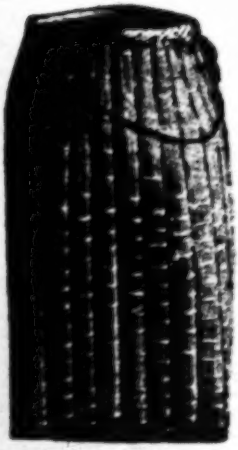

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Fig. 165. Storage for Groundnuts.

283 elements of the same kind, and these are braided together into a pigtail (helmet caps and helmet hairdos; see also device of the Mwele for hanging pots, Fig. 164). /Fig. 165 appears here in the original text./

(2) Carrying bands and braided mats.

[482] The carrying bands are braided from Triumfetta bast strips (two under, two over). The braided mats are made from leaf strips of the screw pine Pandanus (awŭ'ba, kŭbuga; contracted form, akŭă) which intertwine like a chessboard. Mats are found only in the [285 439] southern border region and are probably imported. There is a boat-like satchel for the novices of the Jaunde moon cult (see Section 11 /Ed., this section in Vol. II is not translated/), which is braided like the mats and made of the same material.

(3) Drying boards and boxes.

283 285 416 The floors of the drying boards are made by braiding raffia stalk strips (four under, three over). The bottoms and parts of the side walls of the boxes are made from braided palm bands (three under, three over). /214/

(4) Storage baskets.

285 251 415 The storage basket (angūn Jaunde, angunda Mwele) is a transitional form between the box and the basket insofar as its basic material is raffia pith boards (Fig. 165) placed next to each other and held together by stalk strips of Sarcophrynium tied around them. The storage baskets are used in the house for storing food-stuffs, such as groundnuts, ears of corn, and so forth.

(5) Baskets.

285 415 Basketwork is done either with one material or with a combination of two different materials. The former is the case with the following.

415 285 [462] [824]

1. Women's hanging baskets (nkŭ̄n I). Unlike most other baskets, these are also manufactured by women. They are made from strips of the stalk bark of Sarcophrynium velutinum K. Sch. (stalk, ndɛ̄n, ndɛ̄nǎn IV). They display considerable variation, both in size and pattern (Fig. 166). /Fig. 166 appears here in the original text. /

415 285 412 412

2. Carrying baskets (nkŏɛ̃′ I), which are used only once, are woven in wide meshes from stalks of the Sarcophrynium by men and women whenever their regular baskets are not available or not available in sufficient numbers, or if they want to spare the baskets. Thus, they would use the carrying baskets, for instance, in

[531]

Fig. 166. Women's Hanging Baskets.

order to transport the bloody flesh of a freshly killed elephant into the village and for similar purposes.

285 415

3. Baskets for the oil press and for carrying earth (ekŭ́t, ekŭ́t-ažŭ̄ǐ′ = oil press baskets, ekŭ́t-ebɛ̂ = earth baskets). The first is used to squeeze out oil from the pulp of the fruit (ažŭ̄ǐ′) of the oil palm or raffia palm; the second, to remove the earth that is dug out when pits (ebɛ̂) are made. Both baskets are braided from Ancistrophyllum acutiflorum Becc. (nkɛ̄ne) (1). [824]

[412]

1. I once saw a knife sheath woven entirely from bush rope (Oncocalamus), Figure 167.

285 The second class of baskets displays a variety of braiding elements: one that is flexible and active (braiding strips) (2), forms

2. See the discussion in J. Lehmann, Systematik und geographische Verbreitung der Geflechtsarten /System and Geographic Distribution of Types of Braiding/, Leipzig, 1907.

[113]

the bottom of the basket, and, ascending upward, is tied around the second, stiffer, passive one (braiding strand). /215/ Placed in the form of a spiral, this second element forms the wall of the basket. The sources of the braiding elements are as follows.

285 824 The active elements are taken from Sarcophrynium stalk strips, Pandanus leaves, or -- this is the predominant source -- the outermost wood layer of the rattan palms. The term for these current today is the collective name nlóʼn I, a word derived from the root a lɔ̌n "to braid, to twine" (compare a lɔ̌n ndă, "to weave a house together, to build"; a lɔ̌n nkɔ̌ē', "to weave baskets"), and used at the same time for the "bush rope" obtained from the rattan palms. Formerly, nlɔ́ʼn designated only the Eremospatha macrocarpa M. et W., which occurs only in the coastal strip west of 11 degrees longitude and in the north or northeast of the Pangwe region. Later, when the Pangwe came south, the term was transferred to the two rattan palms occurring there which are used for the same purpose, namely, Eremospatha tessmannii Becc. (ongằm) and especially Oncocalamus mannii Wendl. (ebɔ̄ʼdɔ̌gɔ̌ Fang, ebɔ̄ʼdɔ̌k Ntum; young, akɔ̀ʼlɔ̄ɾ), Plate 16, Drawing 1, which is important there (1).

342 824

1. The rattan palms mentioned, aside from being used in weaving, are also used in the following ways.
1. In house construction: as rough bands, to tie together the framework of the house; as finer bands, to tie together the lathes of the side walls and the raffia leafstalks of which the sleeping

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824 benches are made; and -- in the form of very fine bands -- to tie roof mats together.

824 2. In bridge construction, as railing ropes.

3. To wind around worn or bad wooden handles (cutlass and knives) and handles of fly swatters and brooms.

4. As a band, for example, to hold together damaged rifle butts and wooden plates, to tie down the bark stretched over the sounding board of the harp, and so forth.

5. As the main strand for the woman's back apron made of bast; the bast bundles are fastened to it.

6. As string for the musical bow (elĕm).

7. As bird snares.

8. In making bark containers (see above).

9. As decorative strips for arm and neck bands (ekăt).

10. As a stamp to make a pattern on pottery.

285
824 The passive element mainly comes from the rattan palm Ancistrophyllum acutiflorum Becc. (nkāne, more rarely ekă), Plate 16, Drawing 2, which differs from the Oncocalamus mannii in having large spikes on the upper side of the main leaf vein and finer spikes on the center vein and along the sides of the pinnae, a terminal inflorescence, and differently colored fruit (2). As

2. Aside from weaving, this is used in the following ways.

1. Decorative strips for arm and neck bands (ekăt).

2. Walking sticks.

3. Sugar press.

4. Tension ropes for drumheads.

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5. Bands, a substitute for bush rope.
6. Scraping sticks for cassava.

The related Ancistrophyllum opacum M. et W. (egbwā'ś) supplies tension ropes for drumheads, net hoops, and snares.

/216/ a substitute, Calamus deerratus Mann et Wendl. (edžǐ,ń) (1),

1. This is also used for flutes (ndžǐ,ń I) and sticks for scraping cassava (akǭ-edžǐ,ń).

is used for some kinds of baskets (women's large carrying baskets and men's small carrying baskets).

285
415
[462] The following kinds of baskets are made with various types of weaving.

1. Covered basket of the Jaunde (afǭn) made chiefly by women. Braiding strand of palm band, braiding strips of Pandanus leaf strips, braided like a checkerboard (one over, one under).

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[824] 2. Large carrying baskets for permanent use (nkǒ,ē' I, nkbē' I Fang), in which the women /Fig. 167 appears here in the original text/ carry home wood and produce. Braiding strand of Ancistrophyllum (nkāne), more rarely of Calamus deerratus, braiding strips of Oncocalamus (nlǒń).

3. Small carrying baskets (okǒkǒ,ē', "small carrying basket," and engā'ne), Figure 168, made of the same material as the previous ones, only smaller, frequently with a more finely braided edge whose active part may consist not only of bands but also of strings. Usually, moreover, the main braiding strand is replaced for a short distance in the middle of the basket by a blackened one, called ekǎ̌ha nšūt (b). These baskets are considered especially elegant; the woman takes them with her on journeys and packs food in them. In the house, raffia aprons and other objects are kept in them, and in the fields they are used to hold groundnuts and other things. /Fig. 168 appears here in the original text./

4. Men's carrying baskets (ebā'da), Figure 169. In the case of these baskets, the braiding strand is made either of Calamus or

1: Tessmann--231 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

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Fig. 167. Knife Sheath.

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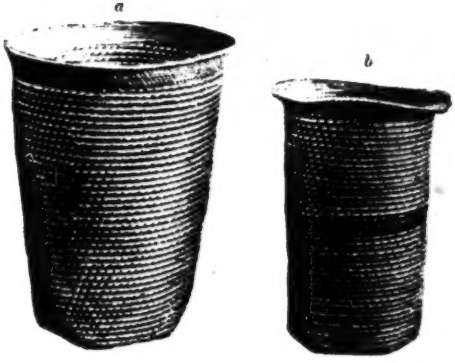

Fig. 168. Small Carrying Baskets.

1: Tessmann--232 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

Fig. 169. Men's Small Basket with Decorations of Hide and Strings of Beads.

Ancistrophyllum. In the latter case, I found them strengthened from the outside by little sticks of the same material braided in diagonally.

5. Rattle baskets (ngōt). /217/ These appear in two forms: the first and larger one consists of the same material as the carrying basket; the second and smaller one has the same reinforcing sticks in its wall as the previous baskets and a piece of calabash shell for the bottom (concerning their use, see Section 20 /Ed., this section in Vol. II is not translated/ and the illustration there).

(6) Basketwork bowls of the Mwele (ekátă).

For these (Fig. 170), there are likewise active braiding strips and one passive /Fig. 169 appears here in the original text/ braiding strand wound in a spiral, as in the true baskets of the second series. In contrast to the latter, however, the spiral begins in the middle of the bottom and thus forms the bottom and the wall, and it is held together by braiding strips woven in at right angles. These bowls, which perhaps are the result of northern influence (Haussa /Hausa/?), are used by the Mwele to store maize meal and as plates for finer foods.

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(7) Basketwork plates (dzǎ̤d; plural biǎ̤d).

Here (Fig. 171) we have, in place of a braiding strand that runs in a spiral, numerous braiding strands made of strips of the Ancistrophyllum acutiflorum Becc. (nkāne) or of the Marantacea Trachyphrynium violaceum Radlk. (nkǭmonkǫ̌'mo Fang), which form the quadrangular bottom surface and the basic material of the edge (or, as one might prefer to say, of the wall). In order to make the edge tight and to hold it together, a braiding strip is woven into it, this being a band from the stalks of the Oncocalamus mannii Wendl. (nlǫ̌'n), the Orchidacea Myrsacidium productum Kranzl. (okǫ́-o-jō'b (1), anžǔ'ma), the Apocynacea Motandra spec. (okǫ́-e-si) (1), or from a raffia pith strip (nkō-ešūšū). The position

1. okǫ̌ from the root kō = band, rope; o jō'b = above, because the orchid is a parasitic plant growing on trees; o si = below, because the Apocynacea grows on the ground.

of the braiding elements with respect to each other is thus precisely the reverse of that in the true baskets of the second series. /218/

/Fig. 170 appears here in the original text./

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They are manufactured in the following manner. Four strips are placed close to each other lengthwise on the ground and held down with one foot; at some distance from these and parallel to them four more strips are laid down, and so on ten times, so that in all there are forty strips. These are diagonally interwoven with 36 strips likewise arranged in fours, so that each of these diagonal strips always runs alternately over and under three of the longitudinal strips, but so that there are different longitudinal strips at each diagonal plait, for instance:

Diagonal strip 1 lies under longitudinal strips 2-4, over 5-7, under 8-10, and so forth;

Diagonal strip 2 lies under longitudinal strips 3-5, over 6-8, under 9-11, and so forth.

1. Tessmann--234 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

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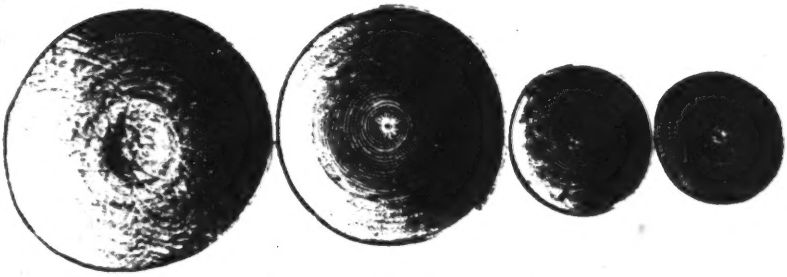
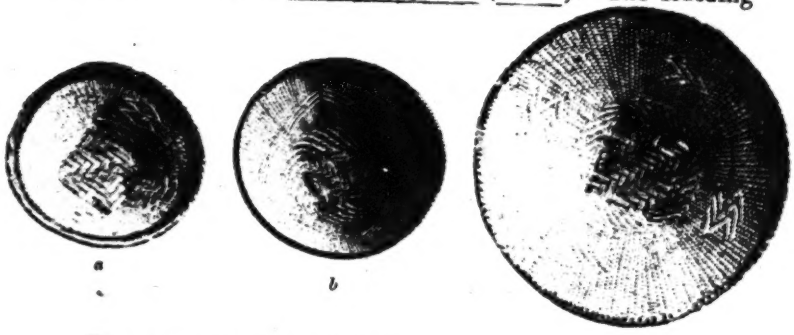


Fig. 170. Basketwork Bowls of the Mwele.

When all the strips have been woven, they are pushed tightly against each other. In this way, a firm quadrangular surface is created, which is held together by one or two bands tied over it in a cross, and the ends of the strips that have not yet been woven protrude from the sides of this surface. These become the braiding strands of the edge of the plate by being bent upward to a greater or lesser degree -- depending on whether the plate is to be deep or shallow -- and interwoven in a spiral form with a braiding strip that always skips one to three of them. /Fig. 171 appears here in the original text./ /219/ In the process, patterns are created through variations in the weaving. Finally, the braiding strip is pulled tight. Gaps at the corners are filled in with independent, short braiding strands that have been bent double. The edge is closed off at the top with a hoop of Ancistrophyllum (nkâne). The braiding



a b c

Fig. 171. Basketwork Plates.

285 strands are placed like hooks around its outside edge, and they are 415 fastened to it with Triumfetta bast or a string.

Depending on their size, the basketwork plates have various names. The small ones are called fá III Fang (a, b), the somewhat larger ones ovǒk, the ordinary large ones džǎ̄d, niǎ džǎ̄d = real, true basketwork plates (c).

Concerning their use, see page 137.

(8) Belts (bab IV).

283 These are braided from a number of superimposed strips of Ancistrophyllum (nkāne) interwoven with bush rope Oncocalamus (see "Dress and Ornaments," page 166).

3. Woodworking.

322 Despite the considerable importance accorded to it in the 517 Pangwe household, wood carving has remained on a comparatively 532 low level of development and bears no comparison with the achievements of other primitive peoples, such as the Melanesians. Its forms display a certain sober utilitarianism, a stiffness and uniformity from which all movement and playfulness are excluded. Only rarely does it rise to the level of representational sculpture. Representations of whole human beings are to be found primarily in the ancestral figures, rarely on chiefs' sticks; heads, moreover, are to be seen only on the posts of meeting houses (seen only in one case), on bench posts in the meeting house, in the memory game, and in the masks used for the moon cult (Sso).

322 The number of objects made of wood is very large, as will be apparent from the list that follows:

1. Digging sticks
2. Shovels
3. Hoe and axe handles
4. Posts for the meeting house
5. Bench posts for the meeting house

1: Tessmann--282 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

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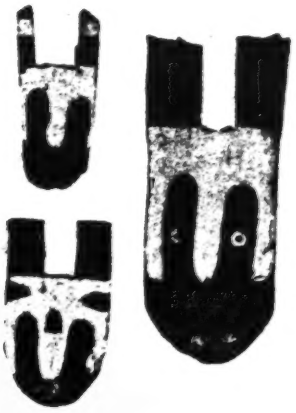

Fig. 204. Decorative Barks in the form of "Masks."

Fig. 205. Carved Patterns on Stools.

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Fig. 207. Small Storage Basket of Jaunde Women, made of Pandanus Leaf Strips.

Fig. 206.

Checkerboard Pattern.

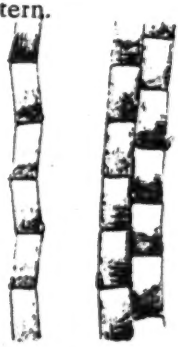

Fig. 208. Pieces of Sugarcane Stalk.

411
[415]
[285]

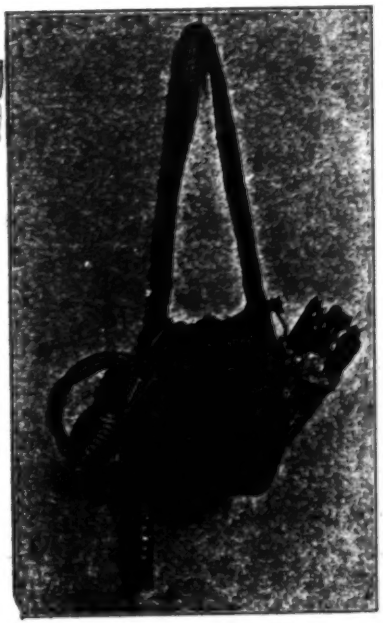

Fig. 78. Shoulder bag of pineapple fibers, used for storing things and for rifle charges in wartime. To the right, a little basket with "chevaux-de-frise"; to the left, shot medicines and an iron war pipe.

practice have maintained some skill in spear throwing. On the whole, the Jaunde did not go over so exclusively to the use of firearms as did the Fang, for instance, who are quite unable to part from their flintlocks. They even give them human names and love to let them "speak."

The spears (Fig. 79) consist of a shaft and tip. The former is made of wood and is artfully grooved lengthwise, as has been described in the section on woodworking /Ed., Vol. I/. The tip is attached with a socket and forged from iron; in very recent times one could frequently see Ntum chiefs carrying ornamental spears with carefully worked brass tips. The cutting edge has the shape of a more or less oblong leaf, and this distinguishes the different types of spears. The older types among the Fang are gbŭń-akŏn (akŏn = spear) (a), akŏn-okăk (okăk = Okak, Fang people) (a), tō mō-akŏn (e), and mbă[s]-akŏn (b); of more recent origin, supposedly is the barbed spear, ngā'm[k]-akŏn (c), and etŏ'hŏk.

The crossbow is only a hunting weapon; the bow and arrow, as well as the slingshot, occur only as children's toys.

The weapons for short-range fighting are the sword and the battle-ax.

The sword (pfă IV Ntum, fă IV Fang) (Fig. 80) has two cutting edges which sometimes end in barbed hooks at the base